Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVIII - No. 6 | 267 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1954 | PRICE: 10 CENTS

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK: LESSONS FOR TODAY

(See Page 2)

Need Action on Layoffs Now, Ford Local 600 Tells Labor

Negro Hater, Jew Baiter Cries 'God Bless McCarthy!'

By John Sargent

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 27 — Last night I sat up high in the gallery of Embassy auditorium and heard Gerald L. K. Smith, Jew-hating, Negro-hating, labor-baiting demagogue, boast of his close and intimate connection with Sen. Joseph McCarthy, No. 1 contender for the fascist crown in America.

G. L. K. SMITH

This unmistakable evidence of a coalescing of the agents of reaction was tendered by Smith to his ample audience of close to a thousand, most of whom were elderly or middle-aged people.

The rally was interpreted as part of the build up for McCarthy's appearance here as a guest speaker Feb. 9 at a meeting sponsored by Dr. James Fifield, a local rabble rouser.

(Local 216 UAW-CIO, warning of McCarthy's visit, has called on the Los Angeles labor movement to "take the initiative to convene a broad conference of labor civil liberties and minorities organizations to devise ways and means of combatting the growing fascist menace.")

Smith had announced his intention to publish and distribute a brochure containing the names and biographies of hundreds of persons who in recent years have stood on their constitutional rights under the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer questions about their political ideas and affiliations before witch-hunting government committees.

"Where do you suppose I got all the names?" Smith asked. Answering his own rhetorical question, he said: "I didn't have the time to compile the list myself."

Then, with a knowing smirk and a sweeping arm gesture, he added: **"A very influential senator in Washington sent me the list."**

Everyone in the audience knew he was referring to McCarthy. For more than an hour he had been praising the Senator from Wisconsin as the heaven-sent deliverer of the nation from the imminent horrors of "Jew-Communist domination."

At one point in his speech, Smith declared of McCarthy (I am quoting him exactly): **"He put his finger on the enemies of America. God bless Senator Joseph McCarthy!"**

It was painful for a Trotskyist to sit quiet while Smith spewed forth his reactionary poison. The more vicious the phrasing, the greater was the applause from the audience.

Smith's harangue was punctuated with such expressions as "Jew woman," "Jew actor," "Jew lawyer." He averred that a "Jewish conspiracy" was afoot to take over the United States. Shades of Hitler and Goebbels!

Encouraged by the applause, Smith went overboard — almost. He accused Eisenhower of being the supine agent of the "Jewish conspiracy" because of the President's opposition to the Bricker amendment.

Shouting and waving his arms, Smith yelled that the President was "Baruch's message boy." The audience, caught off guard, literally gasped — **then applauded wildly.**

Long in hiding, Smith is now again out in the open. Like Father Coughlin, the fascist radio priest in Detroit, he evidently has decided that the times, the political climate, are propitious for his foul work.

The audience that heard Smith rant for two hours was not the stuff of which fascist storm-troopers are made. Youth is needed for that. But let us not underestimate the middle-class rabble that almost filled the Embassy auditorium — gaining admission "by card only." They supply the financial sinews of war. **Through Smith they are now allied with McCarthy.**

NAMES REUTHER

Smith's meeting, in the very best fascist tradition, had "something for everyone," pleasant or unpleasant. I address this paragraph to Walter Reuther, president of the CIO, etc. Smith told his audience last night that he had in his possession, and would in due time publish, a letter that Reuther wrote from Moscow way back when.

In that letter, quoted Smith, the present leader of the CIO wrote that "the Red flag is flying over the factories of Moscow. Soon it will be flying over the factories of Detroit." If Reuther ever wrote such a letter, how did Smith get it? From McCarthy — or Hoover of the FBI?

Reuther ought to be worried — like the labor skates and social-democrats who got accommodations in Hitler's concentration camps. For Reuther, like his German counterparts, is playing the fascist game. Instead of fighting McCarthy and McCarthyism, Reuther and his like are busy on a little witch-hunting of their own, trying to purge the unions of Militant fighters for labor's rights, trying to demonstrate how "safe" they are for the capitalist system of "free enterprise."

The head of a Reuther, or a thousand Reuthers, is not too important. But the head of LABOR which means the head of AMERICA, cannot lightly be turned over to the ax of the fascist executioner.

Negro Who Hurled Cuspidor at Guard Faces Execution

The organized movement to save the life of Wesley Wells, a 44-year-old Negro facing legal murder April 9 by the state of California, is gaining new strength.

Back in 1947, provoked to rage by a Negro-baiting guard, Wells, a prison inmate, hurled a cuspidor at the guard. For this "crime" he was sentenced to death in the gas chamber!

This utterly barbaric sentence was made possible by California's medieval and inhuman prison code, which makes such an offense punishable by death in the case of prisoners serving a life term.

Wells was being held at the time on an indeterminate sentence, which the prison authorities insisted, with a Jim Crow judge's agreement, was equivalent to a life sentence.

Since that outrageous decision was handed down seven years ago, repeated appeals have been made to the California courts and to the Supreme Court. All these courts have turned a stony ear to the pleas that they correct this horrifying act of injustice. With all avenues of legal appeal now exhausted, Wells is scheduled to die in the San Quentin gas chamber on April 9.

During recent months important new support by California union and liberal bodies has been given to Wells' fight for life. Influential Negro papers have begun to publicize the case and a growing protest movement in the Negro community of California is shaping up.

Wells' sole remaining hope to escape the gas chamber rests upon the issuance of an executive clemency order by Republican Governor Goodwin Knight.

Such clemency will be granted only if the strongest mass pressure is put on the Governer. It is the obligation of every unionist, of every opponent of the Jim Crow system, of every supporter of elementary human justice to join the fight to save Wesley Wells.

National Junket Opens McCarthy's '54 Drive

By Harry Ring

Within a week after submitting his state-of-the-witch-hunt report to Congress, fascist Senator McCarthy announced an eight-day speaking tour that will take him to the Pacific coast. Organized as another broadside in the campaign to make himself and his drive against our traditional freedom the central issue in the 1954 election campaign, the tour is being sponsored by the Republican National Committee.

The local fascist organizations now mobilizing behind McCarthy will receive a powerful shot in the arm from the tour of the would-be American Hitler. They are busily preparing rallies to greet him.

The reaction in Canton, Ohio, to the announcement of McCarthy's barn-storming venture is typical. "This industrial city that has been kept buzzing with talk about the Keep America Free Committee, its very own Red-chasing organization, is bracing itself for a free-for-all mass meeting Feb. 5 when Senator Joseph R. McCarthy comes to town," reports the Cleveland News.

Although the meeting is being sponsored by the official Canton Republican organization, the News says that the "auditorium will be filled to the rafters" by the Keep America Free group and its supporters. "This is one public speaker the K. A. F. won't screen," the News asserts, "McCarthy is just about the most popular simon-pure speaker on the K. A. F. list."

LOS ANGELES RALLY

Emulating Gerald L. K. Smith, the notorious fascist demagogue who staged a preparatory rally Jan. 26, McCarthy will speak at a "by invitation only" meeting in Los Angeles Feb. 9, under the auspices of a Dr. James Fifield, organizer of McCarthy-boosting "Freedom Clubs."

Denouncing McCarthy as a fascist threat, and his host, Fifield, as a "local hate-monger," Local 216 of the CIO United Auto Workers recently made public a resolution calling on the Los Angeles labor movement to "take the initiative to convene a broad conference of labor, civil liberties and minorities organizations to devise ways and means of combatting the growing fascist menace."

The McCarthy circuit includes Detroit on Feb. 7, San Francisco, Feb. 10, and will wind up with a $100-a-plate fund-raising dinner sponsored by his milionaire race-baiting, labor-hating cronies in Dallas, Texas.

In announcing the tour, McCarthy again took a slap at Eisenhower and his recently expressed pious "hope" that "communism" would not be made the major issue in the '54 campaign. The theme of his speeches, McCarthy said, will show that he has not changed his mind. "The people

(Continued on page 2)

Los Angeles SWP Rally to Answer McCarthy's Visit

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 3 — The Socialist Workers Party here will answer fascist Senator Joseph McCarthy and his notorious admirer Gerald L. K. Smith at a mass meeting on Feb. 12, 8 P.M., at the Embassy Auditorium, 9th and Grand.

James P. Cannon, the party's National Chairman and Thomas L. Kerry, Chairman of the Los Angeles Local, will be the main speakers at this SWP meeting to help arouse the Los Angeles labor movement and minorities groups to fight the growing fascist menace of McCarthyism.

ANSWER McCARTHY VISIT

A challenging leaflet announcing the meeting is being widely circulated here. It reports the fact that McCarhy is invading this city to boom the fascist movement by speaking at an 'invitation only" meeting sponsored by "the hate-monger Reverend James Fifield."

Referring to the recent G. L. K. Smith "invitation only" meeting at which Smith fervently prayed, "God Bless McCarthy!", the circular warns that "the fascist scum . . . are now boldly mobilizing under the banner of McCarthyism."

Mc CARTHYITE'S TARGET

In its appeal for Los Angeles workers and members of minorities to hear Cannon and Kerry give the socialist answer to McCarthyism, the SWP leaflet points out that the Democrats answer McCarthyism "by claiming credit for initiating the witch-hunt" that McCarthy is now pushing and "the Republicans count on McCarthy to divert attention from the mounting depression and fear of atomic annihilation."

"Only the organized labor movement, which is the ultimate target of the McCarthyites, can smash McCarthyism," says the SWP appeal.

Let the People Vote -- Our Answer to Bricker

The fight over the Bricker amendment is a fight over who should control foreign policy, including the treaty-making power. The interests of the American people require a rejection of both sides in the fight as it is presently being conducted in Washington, and the presentation of a program that will promote the people's aspirations against war, imperialism and regimentation.

The Bricker amendment arouses so much heat because the United States' rise to the position of predominance in the capitalist world has been accompanied by the usurpation and concentration in the President's hands of the real power to set U.S. foreign policy. Congress has been largely converted into a willing rubber-stamp for the President's decisions — as in the case of U.S. entry into the Korean civil war — and the people are more and more deprived of any effective voice in the issues affecting their very lives, liberties and living standards.

Bricker represents a collection of chauvinists, semi-isolationists and states-rights advocates who want to amend the Constitution in such a way that it will be easier for THEM, even when they are a small minority, to block treaties they regard as objectionable. The effect would be, not to give the people a greater say in foreign policy, but to give a small reactionary clique a greater veto power.

Eisenhower, naturally, wants present conditions unchanged (although he would accept an amendment that made some gestures in Bricker's direction, without really hampering Eisenhower's ability to continue carrying out Wall Street's foreign policy line effectively and promptly). Supporting him are the main sections of the capitalist press and the "responsible" sections of both major parties, including Truman, Stevenson, the liberals and the labor leaders.

Both sides talk as if the basic issue is the MANNER in which foreign policy is to be implemented. Actually, this is a secondary question. The important thing is the CONTENT and NATURE of foreign policy. Bricker introduces his amendment because he wants to block treaties and other executive measures that might commit the U.S. to international measures against genocide and race discrimination. Eisenhower opposes the amendment because he doesn't want any possible interference with any phase of his preparations for eventual war against the USSR and China.

The American people and the labor movement must also take their own foreign policy objectives as the starting point. If they want peace, if they want friendship and trade with other countries, they must fight to take the war-making powers (including the power to sign treaties that are in effect war alliances) away from the capitalist politicians in both the White House and Congress.

There is only one progressive way to oppose both the Bricker amendment and the President's usurpation of foreign policy control, and that is by introducing an amendment to let the American people, by referendum, vote on and decide the questions of war or peace. It is the only way in which the people can secure effective and democratic expression of their will in this field of life or death.

Can't Rely On GOP or Democrats

DETROIT, Feb. 1 — the giant Ford Local 600 of the CIO United Automobile Workers has issued a warning that the unions can place no reliance on Democrats or Republicans to combat mass unemployment. Carl Stellato, president of the country's largest union local, in the Jan. 30 Ford Facts calls for independent labor action now to defend the workers of America against the swelling tide of layoffs.

Stellato presses strongly for concerted action by the entire UAW and CIO, through the "convening of emergency conventions," to carry out "concrete measures to avert a Big Business-automation-peace time recession, or even worse, depression." He adds:

"We must SOLIDIFY OUR FORCES BEHIND THE UNION'S FIGHT FOR A 30-HOUR WEEK WITH 40 HOURS PAY, NOW!"

BREAD AND BALLOT BOXES

He firmly declares his disagreement with other union leaders who tell the workers to wait until the November elections before doing anything. "We are well aware that the ballot box is connected with the bread box," the Ford 600 leader affirms. "But we also are aware that we do not have access to the ballot box for eleven months. Does this mean that we forget about the bread box for eleven months? I say NO!"

Stellato also rejects the idea that if the Republicans do nothing about unemployment all labor has to do is turn to the Democrats once more.

WARNS OF BOTH PARTIES

"We cannot expect the Hoover-Wilson-McCarthy Republican Party, which we did not support and which has a history of being anti-labor, to solve our problems," says Stellato, adding:

"And certainly, we cannot expect the Democrats to solve our problems. Under the Democratic administration, we saw the Smith Act, Taft-Hartley, McCarran-Walter and the McCarran Law placed on the statute books by Democrats in Washington. Let's be honest with ourselves. Our problems will not be solved by the Democrats or Republicans."

Meeting the fears of some union leaders that to demand the shorter work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay might identify them with a "Communist" line, Stellato points out that no less a conservative union leader than David Dubinsky, head of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union, has signed contract after contract embodying the demand for the 35-hour week with 40 hours' wages.

NEW CUTBACKS

New cutbacks, layoffs and loss of overtime in the auto industry are underscoring the urgency of Ford Local 600's program. Not only the independents and Chrysler are reflecting the downturn in the economy, but General Motors and Ford have begun to retrench, despite the glowingly optimistic statements put out by their heads.

Last Friday Chevrolet shut down its 28 plants all day in its first major cutback since prewar days. It is reported that 11 assembly plants of Chevrolet may go on a four-day basis. Ford is reducing overtime because, as a company spokesman said, "we can keep up with the market and still use less overtime."

The Ford workers note all the warning signs and urge labor to prepare for a fight.

"We Still Have a Roof Over Our Heads"

By Joyce Cowley

A thousand people jammed the New York Board of Estimate chambers and City Hall corridors Jan. 26 to protest against the Washington Square housing project. The Board had a stormy session starting at 10 in the morning and continuing until 8:30 at night. The final result was a compromise, the kind of compromise that everyone thinks he has won.

New York University will get three acres of land dirt-cheap. Moses will get his $48-a-room luxury project. The workers in the Italian neighborhood below Washington Square will not be evicted from their homes.

This apparent miracle was accomplished by limiting the project to an area north of Houston Street and east of the heavily populated working class neighborhood. This district consists to a large extent of warehouses and commercial establishments, cheap rooming houses and third rate hotels. The people here are accustomed to moving and probably won't protest too much.

All my neighbors are smiling, waving and calling across the streets: "We won!"

They have won something concrete. They know there will be a roof over their heads next year. I live below Houston Street myself and I feel exactly the same way. I don't have central heating and there's a bathtub in my kitchen but I do have a place to live.

I'm glad I'll be here next year but I am not resigned to spending the rest of my life in a house neglected by the landlord, that is not painted or repaired or decently maintained. I've heard about high standards of living in America and I have my dreams. I dream of radiators, a bathroom, clothes closets, clean halls, even an elevator. In the world's largest and richest city, this doesn't seem too much to hope for.

The action of the Board of Estimate did nothing toward the realization of my hopes. They unobtrusively pulled a fast one by shelving a proposal of middle and low income housing.

The Washington Square project originally incorporated three separate housing units. The middle and low income (which incidentally were sadly inadequate for the needs of the neighborhood) were — of course! — to be built below Houston Street. Now they are not going to be built at all. This may explain the readiness of the Board of Estimate to compromise. They've still got their project. They will use city and federal funds to buy land and clear it. Then they'll sell cheap to private interests.

The following day the Board approved a similar project in Brooklyn with rents ranging from $28.50 to $44 a room. When Moses was asked about the 1,119 families who would be displaced, he said: "You can't make an omelet without breaking some eggs."

Moses puts matters clearly and I don't have to comment on the concern he feels for people in New York City. "We are not here," he says unnecessarily, "as propagandists or evangelists." These latest projects are a continuation of his whole housing program for the past eight years which has created new upper-bracket apartments for executives and new slums for workers.

The Herald Tribune, in an enthusiastic editorial on this program, says: "The emphasis, after all, should not be entirely on the bottom level. The theory here is that such assistance belongs only to low-income groups, that those who are better off can take care of themselves."

Yes, that's my theory. Perhaps because of my income level, I don't see why people who can pay $48 a room need assistance. But as the Tribune says, you can't please everyone.

Our new mayor said a great deal about housing at the Board of Estimate hearing but nothing about this particular project. While he was campaigning for office he wrote a letter to the Greenwich Village Association stating that he opposed the Washington Square project because of the high rentals and other undesirable features such as the development of a highway through the square which would result in heavy traffic dangerous for children in the playgrounds.

I heard a spokesman for Wagner read this letter at the GVA "candidates night," when I spoke as a representative of the Socialist Workers Party. Since his election, Wagner has maintained a coy silence on this question. As a neighbor said, the only campaign promise he kept to date is the one made privately to Impellitteri to put the ex-mayor on the city payroll.

If Republicans and Democrats at City Hall were really interested in better housing, they would build low cost apartments in the same area that has been OK'd for luxury units. Then they could move in people from the crowded buildings below Houston Street before rebuilding and remodeling in that section.

The only way we'll get millions of new homes and apartments at prices that workers can afford is when we elect men and women who represent us and fight for our interests, when we build our own political party to speak out for the needs of working people.

What They Say About McCarthy

Congressman Richard Bolling (Dem., Mo.): *"Do not be fooled. McCarthyism is not a crusade against communism. McCarthyism is irresponsible and unsubstantiated attacks against individuals who are at a disadvantage in defending themselves."*

Radio commentator Elmer Davis: *"Anyone who expects a fair investigation from these three (McCarthy, Jenner, Velde) is living in a dream world."*

Francis Downing, associate editor of Commonweal: *"The voice of McCarthy was abroad in the land, and it was, in the beginning, a poisoned and fearful thing. It went on forever making unproved charges, forever irresponsible, forever merely free of libel; it went on exploiting the insecure, the anxious, the afraid."*

Arthur Eisenhower: *"When I think of McCarthy I automatically think of Hitler."*

Former Secretary of Air Thomas K. Finletter: *"An evil force is loose in the land. The leading spearhead and symbol of this force, at the moment, is a Senator. But the evil lies deeper than any one man. A small minority of Americans want to destroy our civil liberties in order (so they say) to protect ourselves from Russian subversion — but in reality I wonder for what personal end or personal power?*

Rev. G. B. Ford, Roman Catholic Church of Corpus Christi, Texas: *"Senator McCarthy is a vicious demagogue."*

Senator Estes Kevauver (Dem., Tenn.): *"McCarthyism represents the greatest threat to our nation today and to our freedom."*

Dr. John Lapp, former director of the social science department at Marquette University, the Jesuit college attended by McCarthy: *"The greatest menace to liberty we've had in a long time is McCarthyism. . . McCarthy will be blown sky high when people wake up to what he has done."*

Senator Herbert Lehman (Dem., N. Y.): *"The investigators, who might better be called the inquisitors, have taken over."*

Bishop Ludlow, Episcopal Diocese of N. J.: *"Joe McCarthy . . . takes cowardly privilege in legislative immunity."*

AFL President George Meany: *"A subversion of American principles."*

Mrs. Agnes Myers, member of the Board of Directors of the National Citizens Commission for Public Schools: *"A dangerous and ruthless demagogue our modern grand inquisitor . . . a political adventurer . . . a psychopathic character."*

The National Wage Earner, labor-hating, racist magazine: *"Senator Joseph R. McCarthy . . . has done more than any other man in the past 20 years to preserve our freedom . . . It would not surprise the experts if this valiant leader became the next President of the United States."*

Wisconsin Republican State Assemblyman Arthur Peterson: *"Joe McCarthy has not fooled the unscrupulous and self-seeking — his pattern of action is too familiar to them; they know to what depths a man will sink to attain his own aims and further his own ambitions."*

CIO President Walter Reuther: *"McCarthyism is ugly, un-American and immoral."*

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt: *"Some of the methods used by McCarthy are not unlike those of Hitler."*

Frank Rosenblum of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO: *"McCarthyism is rapidly destroying due process of law."*

Gerald L. K. Smith, Jew-hating, Negro-hating, labor-baiting demagogue: *"He put his finger on the enemies of America. God bless Senator Joseph McCarthy!"*

Charles A. Sprague, former Republican Governor of Oregon and editor and publisher of the Oregon Statesman: *"If the Republican Party is to endorse McCarthyism it deserves to be laid in a grave both wide and deep."*

Adlai Stevenson: *"McCarthyism . . . (is) an analogy with the beginning of Hitlerism."*

Harry S. Truman: McCarthyism *"is the corruption of truth, the abandonment of our devotion to fair play. It is the abandonment of 'due process of law.' It is the use of the big lie and the unfounded accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism or security. It is the rise to power of the demagogue who lives on untruth; it is the spread of fear and the destruction of faith in every level of society."*

United Automobile Worker, newspaper of the UAW-CIO: *You can't shun McCarthy any more than you could shun Hitler and Mussolini. By the time the world woke up to the truth about Hitler and Mussolini, the blood bath was drawn and waiting. The time to get McCarthy is while he's still just a Senator. . . McCarthy is using the Communist issue to ride to power in the United States just as Mussolini used the Red issue in Italy and Hitler used the Bolshevik menace in Germany."*

Bishop William Walls: *"The efforts of McCarthyites are being made to defame Negro leaders."*

Walter White, Secretary, National Association for Advancement of Colored People: *"McCarthyism, if allowed to go unbridled, can also destroy freedom."*

PIONEER PAMPHLETS

On the Negro Struggle

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Negro History: Lessons for Today

By George Breitman

Both of the old parties have proved a thousand times that they are supporters of the Jim Crow system, and that what this country needs is a new party, an independent Labor Party that will fight for full equality for the Negro people, among other fundamental changes in social, political and economic conditions.

Many Negroes agree with this idea, and want to break with the two-party system altogether. But they say: "What can we do about it now? By ourselves, we can't build a Labor Party. In fact, there won't be a real Labor Party until the labor movement quits supporting capitalist candidates and starts building a party of its own. What can we, as a minority of the population, do now, in 1954, to create a new party?"

It's true that Negroes are a minority of the population. But does that mean that by themselves they can accomplish nothing? Does that mean that they have to stand by, waiting with folded hands, until a majority of the country is ready to take action on a particular issue? Or can the Negro people, even as a minority, start the ball rolling by taking the initiative themselves and in that way propelling other sections of the population into action along progressive lines?

This is the time of the year when Negro History Week is celebrated in the United States, and we can find answers to the above questions by turning back to examine the rich lessons of previous Negro struggles and how they affected the course of this country's development.

Who freed the slaves, and how were they freed? For a long time historians and teachers, strongly influenced by the South, presented the Negro as a docile and passive slave, who remained in the background, waiting and doing nothing, until Lincoln or the new Republican Party or the North handed him his freedom on a golden platter.

But this myth has been exploded by other historians, with Negro scholars leading the way. They dug through the propaganda and revived the facts: Though the Negroes were a minority in the days of slavery too (and a minority in a much more disadvantageous position than today), they were the ones who sparked the fight against slavery, they were the ones who made it impossible for any "compromise" on slavery to last, they were the ones who helped to turn the tide and settle the issue when its outcome was really in doubt during the Civil War.

SLAVE INSURRECTIONS

The Abolitionists are given credit for the splendid anti-slavery agitation conducted during the 30 years before the Civil War. They deserve this credit too. But few people would ever have heard of the Abolitionist movement, and it would never have had much success, if it hadn't been for the insurrections organized by Negro slaves in the South. William Lloyd Garrison and his movement became nationally known and discussed thanks above all to the slave rebellion led by Nat Turner.

This and other insurrections kept the slave issue alive, refuted the lie that Negroes were content with bondage, stirred the conscience of anti-slavery forces, and frightened the slaveholders into measures that united resistance against them.

Moreover, the Abolitionist movement numbered a great many freed Negroes in its ranks, and was able to survive its lean days and the persecution to which it was subjected partly because of the support it received from Negroes.

For decades the "statesmen" of both the North and the South tried to bury the slave question, to remove it as an issue in Washington (just as today they are trying to bury FEPC in Congress). That was the meaning and purpose of all the "compromise" bills debated and passed in Washington. But these agreements never got the consent of the slaves, and the slaves stubbornly refused to be a partner to them, and disrupted them every time.

That was the significance of the fugitive slave movement. The "statesmen" passed laws, but the slaves took independent action against the slave system. They ran away by the thousands. By the tens of thousands, they ran away. A safe estimate is that at least 100,000 Negroes escaped to freedom in the North, in Canada and in the remote areas of the South between 1800 and 1860.

Running away was not cowardly under these circumstances, but an act of high courage and heroism, considering the risks and the penalties. It inspired sympathy in the North, and recruited new anti-slave forces there and in the Mid-West. It disrupted the plans of the "statesmen." It struck a blow not only at the South's propaganda but at its economy. Frenzied, the South demanded and got the infamous fugitive slave law. But this law, imposing heavy penalties on Northern whites who refused to help the slave-hunters, only served to arouse new opposition against the slaveholders.

The "statesmen" on both sides tried a dozen ways to prevent the Civil War, but it came just the same. It was an irrepressible conflict, and one of the things that made it irrepressible was the determination of the slaves to be free.

When the war began, most of the Northern leaders, including Lincoln, refused to accept Negroes as soldiers and swore that they were not fighting for emancipation. But the Negro masses acted on their own. By the hundreds of thousands they deserted the plantations and marched off to the Union armies. The pressure of their independent action forced Lincoln to accept them as soldiers, and their departure undermined the Southern economy. The need to win the war forced Lincoln to sign the emancipation proclamation. Later, Lincoln was also forced to admit that the North could not have continued the war if its 200,000 Negro troops had been removed from the Union armies and placed in the battlefield or cornfield on the South's side.

Anybody who thinks that the Negro people can't accomplish much today because they are a minority is simply ignorant of American history and of the crucial role that can be played by a minority group that knows what it wants and is willing to fight to get it.

Not only in the 19th Century, but in our own time, the Negro people have been able to influence other groups merely through the fight for their own interests. We choose one example that is pertinent to the Labor Party question: the fight for a fair employment practices bill.

How did this become an issue in American political life? Not through the "liberalism" of Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. And not through the farsightedness of the leaders of the labor movement.

It became an issue because in 1941 a number of Negroes organized themselves independently in the March on Washington Movement and threatened to call tens of thousands of Negroes from all over the country to the capital for a mass demonstration against discriminatory employment practices.

Seeing what a favorable response this proposal got among rank and file Negroes, Roosevelt agreed to issue a weak FEPC order if the march were called off. This was agreed to. The threat of a march and mass action not only got some concessions but made FEPC into a major issue.

Now the top leaders of the unions (with the exception of A. Philip Randolph) gave the March on Washington Movement no support whatever in 1941. But after this movement had blazed the path and posed the issue, the labor leaders had to go along. Willingly or unwillingly, they became advocates of FEPC, and today a labor convention or a labor newspaper that doesn't strongly demand the passage of FEPC is a rare phenomenon in America. By STARTING the fight for FEPC, even though they had to do it alone, the Negro people prodded and pushed and pulled and pointed the way for the whole labor movement into a progressive struggle.

In the same way that they provided the impulse for the struggle that ended the slave system, in the same way that their independent activity won the support of the labor movement for FEPC legislation, the Negro people today can play a major and effective part in the fight for the creation of a Labor Party. Concretely:

The Negro people can make it plain that they are fed up with the runaround they have received from both capitalist parties and that as a result they are not going to support the candidates of either party in the 1954 elections.

BENEFICIAL RESULTS

One result of such a step would be to put strong pressure on the Democratic Party, whose leaders have come to feel that they have the Negro vote in their pocket whatever they do. (The way to get concessions from capitalist politicians is not by supporting them but by refusing to support them. That's what the Dixiecrats did in 1952, and that's why Adlai Stevenson is wooing them today.)

An even more important result would be the pressure exerted on the leaders of the labor movement. One reason why they are more sensitive to Negro sentiment today than they used to be is that they know how difficult it would be for them to help elect their Democratic candidates without the support of the Negro voters. If the labor leaders can be shown that Negroes are no longer going to vote Democrat and that as a result the Democrats will stand little chance of being elected, then the result would be to weaken the alliance between the labor leaders and the Democrats and to force the labor movement into at least considering a new political policy.

This course of action could strengthen the pro-Labor Party forces in the unions. The least it could do would be to provoke re-examination and discussion in labor's ranks of the political policy it now is following. The consequences of such a discussion couldn't help being beneficial.

But if Negroes don't vote Democrat or Republican this year, how would they vote? Following are some suggestions that could be considered:

(1) In districts where they are already a strong force, they could run their own candidates for office. In conjunction with independent campaigns of this kind, they could approach the unions for support and offer to run on a joint slate with independent labor candidates.

(2) In districts where the Socialist Workers Party is able to run a ticket, they could support the SWP candidates who will be running on a principled anti-capitalist, anti-Jim Crow and pro-Labor Party program, and who will collaborate loyally with independent Negro candidates and movements.

(3) In some districts it might mean not voting at all. Properly organized, such a boycott policy would not be a sign of apathy or weakness but of united action and potential strength. Even a boycott movement would put the labor leaders on the spot by making them understand that their present policy is doomed.

The lessons of Negro history and the political needs of the fight against Jim Crow in 1954 both dictate the necessity and advisability for the Negro people to break with the capitalist parties and start working for a new party. Convinced that their independent action can effectively speed up progressive political developments, we urge the Negro people to begin discussing their 1954 policy now and working out their tactics accordingly.

Big Shots at Berlin Parley

Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov, representative of the Kremlin dictatorship, shakes hands with another official as he arrives at the Big Four Conference in West Berlin. At left is British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, mouthpiece of British imperialism. (See story, Page 3.)

After 1876 -- Low Point In the Negro Struggle

By Fred Hart

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE AND THOUGHT: The Nadir 1877-1901, by Dr. Rayford W. Logan. Dial Press, 1954, 380 pp., $5.

The double-talk, duplicity and hypocrisy of the Democratic and Republican Parties with regard to the Negro and civil rights are well-known features of current political life. But these are not new features of capitalist politics. Anyone who has any doubts on that score can have them cleared up by reading the new book by Dr. Rayford W. Logan, professor of history at Howard University, dealing with the quarter of a century that followed the Reconstruction period.

Reconstruction was an effort, partially and temporarily successful, to create the conditions for capitalist democracy in the South. The Southern ruling class resisted it with force and violence; as Dr. Logan notes, "the elements in a community that have long exercised exclusive control of government do not generally relinquish control without a struggle." Reconstruction ended in 1876 when the northern capitalists and Republicans made a deal with the Southern landlords, capitalists and Democrats to withdraw all federal troops from the South and to exploit Southern labor jointly.

Dr. Logan's book deals with the aftermath — the sellouts of the Negro by the presidents from Hayes through McKinley; their indifference, timidity or connivance as the Southern ruling class proceeded to break all its promises to respect the civil and political rights of the Negro, to disfranchise him and to erect the structure of second-class citizenship; the failure of Congress to pass legislation enforcing the Negro's right to vote; the role of the Supreme Court in outlawing legislation favorable to the Negro and in approving numerous unconstitutional Jim Crow measures (including the "separate but equal" doctrine that is again before the Court today in the Jim Crow school cases); the worsening of the economic plight of the Negro in agriculture and industry; and the general approval of all these crimes by the leading newspapers and magazines and the political, educational, literary and social leaders.

The story has been told before, but never so fully and never so systematically. This was truly the low point of the Negro struggle (we assume that Dr. Logan is referring to post-Civil War history when he calls this the nadir), and it reached its lowest point shortly after the death of Frederick Douglass when Booker T. Washington made his infamous "Atlanta Compromise" speech in 1895.

What Washington proposed, briefly, was that Negroes should quit "agitating" for political and social equality and concentrate on improving their economic conditions by collaborating with the Southern ruling class. Accepting second-class citizenship in return for some crumbs was just what both the Southern and Northern rulers wanted the Negroes to do; so it was no wonder that they hailed Washington as a "great leader," gave him a special status as "the" spokesman of the Negro people and helped him to hound and isolate all opponents of his treacherous and fatal policy.

Actually, as Dr. Logan amply demonstrates, Washington's Atlanta speech and his general policy of submission to segregation contained nothing original. Everything he proposed had long been suggested and demanded by the worst white supremacists. Everything he advocated conflicted with the historic trend of the Negro struggle toward full equality. Washington's Uncle Tom influence was pernicious then, and what remains of it is pernicious today. This book demonstrates why his influence was so great (and, indirectly, whose interests it served).

To term this a useful book, however, is not to imply agreement with everything it says. Dr. Logan's final chapter, "The Roots of Recovery," is vague or misleading in its attempts to explain the reasons for the resurgence of the Negro struggle in our own century, and it is lopsided in its emphasis on the part played by "talented" individuals in this process. Like Gunnar Myrdal, Dr. Logan is bemused by the notion of "the American Creed" as "one of the basic reasons for the change" since 1901, although the same "Creed" existed and had little beneficial effect from 1877 to 1901.

Also open to challenge is Dr. Logan's statement at the beginning of that chapter: "The Negro in the United States has achieved today the highest status in his history." While this is true in some respects, it certainly is not true in others — for example, in political status. Dr. Logan's own figures prove this. In Congress today there are only two Negroes in the House, and none in the U.S. Senate. But in the 44th Congress (1875-77) there were seven Negroes in the House and one in the Senate. The contrast in the figures of the Southern state legislatures today and then shows an even worse setback for the Negroes.

These faults, however, are only minor aspects of the book, which performs a service both to the Negro struggle and American history.

NATIONAL JUNKET OPENS M'CARTHY'S '54 DRIVE

(Continued from page 1)

will have to pass on it in the fall," he told the press.

The very fact that the Republican National Committee has organized McCarthy's speaking jaunt as its first major enterprise in the 1954 campaign underscores the completeness of the capitulation of the Republican high command to the leader of the fascist wing of the party.

McCarthy embarks on his swing of the country after a shocking demonstration of what power he wields in the U.S. Senate. By an 85 to 1 vote the country's top legislators stumbled over each other to hand the fascist senator the $214,000 appropriation he had brazenly demanded for his witch-hunting committee for 1954.

With the forlorn exception of Fulbright, the Democrats vied with the Republican in filling McCarthy's war chest. This action marked the complete rout of the Democratic "opposition" to Hitler's American imitator. After returning to his "investigating" committee on the basis of token, face-saving "concessions," they joined the Republicans in seating McCarthy's "good friend," Robert E. Lee on the strategic Federal Communications Commission. **McCarthy gained this direct and probably decisive control over the radio and TV channels of America when 25 Democrats either voted for the nomination or absented themselves during the vote.**

With the $214,000 appropriation in his pocket and the reins of three powerful Senate committees, including the key Rules committee, in his hands, McCarthy is now in position to really crack the whip in the Senate.

This swift consolidation of power by the fascist senator in the nation's highest legislative body should serve as one more sharp reminder to the entire labor movement of how grave the danger of McCarthyism has become. **The need to meet McCarthy head-on in the 1954 elections is the most burning political problem facing the American workers.**

Although a substantial number of local union bodies have demonstrated growing awareness of the need to take up the cudgels against McCarthy, the cowardly top leadership of the labor movement has so far persisted in its suicidal do-nothing policy.

Their feeble claim that the Democrats could be counted on to "stop McCarthy" has now been smashed to smithereeens. From here on in the Democratic point of differentiation from McCarthy will boil down to the miserable and shameful effort to prove that they have actually been "more effective" than he in hounding "communists." **They are saying in brief, "Me too — only better." That kind of politics offers nothing but a short road to the concentration camps and gas chambers.**

With the Republicans and Democrats jointly paving McCarthy's way to power, labor's leadership cannot be permitted to dodge for another day its responsibility. An independent Labor Party must be launched — and not later, but NOW. Labor must enter the 1954 campaign with its own party, its own candidates, and its own program. **McCarthyism must be smashed before McCarthyism smashes labor.**

THE MILITANT ARMY

Literature Agent Gordon Bailey asks us to increase **San Francisco's** Militant bundle order this week. "Comrades here are finding it easier to sell the Militant today," he reports. "Consequently they are taking extra copies of the paper every week to sell to their friends.

"**Nick** sells 12 or more every week. **Jack K.** sells 10, **Bill K.** sells five, and **George L.** sells five. Some comrades have regular routes — others sell their copies on the job."

New York Literature Agent **John Tabor** reports an encouraging sale of 56 anti-McCarthy pamphlets in the past few days. "**Nate** sold two anti-McCarthy pamphlets and three Militants to shopmates. On Friday night we had good sales at two meetings here. At an ASP meeting 27 pamphlets were sold. At the other, an Emergency Civil Liberties Committee meeting, we sold 27 more. Comrades **John A., Elaine, Tom, Edith, Manny, Myrle, Pam** and **John T.** took part in the sales."

The **Boston** comrades have been conducting a subscription and sales campaign in their area. In the first two weeks of a six-week's campaign the branch score is 120 points. The leaders to date are **Jim** with 52 points and **Belle** with 50.

Literature Agent Janet MacGregor reports continued good response to the Militant in **Detroit.** She writes, "On Sunday we went out to the project and sold 48 copies of The Militant with the following scores: **A. Winters,** seven; **Fred,** seven; **Sarah,** seven; **Ed,** one; **Rita,** one; **Kev,** six; **Bob,** 12; and **Edie,** five.

"**Janet** and **John Allen** went out on renewals and obtained one six-month renewal and two more that we will pick up on Friday. We have promises for one more and found one person had moved. This is a very high return for call backs. In addition **A. P.** turned in a one-year sub. Total results for the week: one six-months sub, one year sub, and 66 copies of the Militant."

Many thanks to **J. M.** of **Cleveland, Ohio** for a $1 donation to help print The Militant. Thanks also to **D. S.** of **Los Angeles, Calif.** who sends "a buck for luck."

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THE MILITANT
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XVIII - No. 6 Monday, Feb. 8, 1954

Norwalk, Conn.

Are you "communistically inclined"? Are you a "subversive type"? Think carefully before you answer. It depends on how the thing is defined, and on who defines it. You may not think that a belief in militant unionism is a sign of "communistic inclination," but the McCarthyites think it is. They also consider it "subversive" to favor trade with China, or to invite a Negro to the home of a white family, or advocate freedom of speech for all — or even to associate with anybody who does these things.

Is someone watching you? Is one of your "friends" or neighbors or fellow-workers keeping his eye on you, the people who visit your home, the papers and magazines you read, the remarks you make when you're in a bar, the statements you make at your union meeting, your attendance at a meeting of Americans for Democratic Action? Is this information being turned over to a private organization, recorded in its files and then transmitted to the FBI?

Don't be too sure that you know the answer. If you know, or live near, or work near, or relax near a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the answer might be yes. He may be a self-appointed snooper, acting with the approval of the VFW, and the encouragement of the FBI and President Eisenhower, eavesdropping on you and your family to decide (behind your back) whether or not you meet the specifications of "Americanism" that have been drawn up by the McCarthyite vigilantes.

Norwalk, Conn., was the place where the story came into the open. The Veterans of Foreign Wars, it was revealed, were carrying on a secret campaign to ferret out and send to the FBI the names of all residents whose statements, associations and activities rendered them "suspect" in the eyes of the VFW — all this without giving the "accused" any notice of what was going on, the chance to know what they were charged with, or the right to refute it.

The embarrassed capitalist press hastened to explain it all away as an exceptional local phenomenon. But the national leaders of the VFW quickly endorsed their Norwalk branch and made it clear that all VFW members are expected to do the same. President Eisenhower said he saw nothing wrong in the practice.

McCarthy said it was a "splendid idea." Velde said, "We welcome the cooperation of such patriotic organizations" and he invited the Norwalk snoopers to send him a copy of their reports.

This is no local "excess." It is a disclosure of what is happening in all the "typical" American cities. And the very manner in which Norwalk made national news proves this.

Twelve journalist representatives of NATO countries were escorted to Norwalk by State Department and UN sponsors to observe a "typical American community" in its daily life. It was the presence of these journalists which touched off the national sensation. "Explanations" had to be given. "Extraordinary" circumstances had to be invented.

It is as if a reporter was touring a prison which had been carefully prepared to hide all evidence of brutality to prisoners — and accidentally, a door opens, the reporter witnesses the merciless beating of a prisoner. The fake picture of a typical peaceful day in prison life gives way to the ugly truth.

So it is with Norwalk. It is the ugly truth of a nation being swept by McCarthyism. It is the same truth than can be found in Houston, Texas, with its "Minute Women," or on college campuses where McCarthyite Students for America keep tabs on teachers for possible "subversive" utterances.

There are thousands of local chapters to numerous organizations of the VFW type. When these organizations swing into action with encouragement and incitation from McCarthy, we are given an intimation of what these forces can develop into as the American fascist movement gathers headway.

Norwalk is a loud and insistent alarm signal to the labor movement, the minorities, and all defenders of democratic rights. Organize! Beat back and crush the fascist threat before it gains any further beachheads.

U.S. "Tourists" They Don't Like

"Why is America so unpopular abroad?" This plaintive question is being asked more and more frequently in the capitalist press and public forums. When they are not blaming U.S. unpopularity on "envy," "stupidity" or "Communist propaganda," apologists of American imperialism try to explain it by the conduct or views of certain individuals who evoke antagonisms. Everything would be sugar and cream between the U.S. and the rest of the world, they claim, for instance, if it weren't for the "black eye" we are given by McCarthy, or McCarran, or some other obnoxious individual in American politics.

A former American Ambassador-at-Large, Philip C. Jessup, told a New York City forum on Jan. 28 that the widespread and growing hatred of America and Americans abroad is the consequence of the conduct of American tourists and junketing members of Congress. Presumably, if all passports were revoked and these travelers kept home, the popularity of the United States would promptly soar.

Jessup's blame of "tourists" has an element of truth, however. The U.S. has been sending millions of "tourists" abroad who are bound to evoke utmost hatred toward this country, although, in most instances, these "tourists" would prefer not to make the trip. The rulers of America during the three years of the Korean War sent more than two million "tourists" in uniform to Korea. The Korean suvivors of this junket with napalm and high-powered explosives naturally don't feel too friendly toward "tourists" who have blown up their entire country.

Around the world in some 63 countries outside Korea, as enumerated in the Dec. 25, 1953, U.S. News and World Report, there are a million and a half other "tourists" in U.S. uniform who are a constant painful reminder to the people of these countries that a rich, powerful, aggressive foreign power is brazenly quartering troops on their soil and treating them like mere colonies of Wall Street.

Now, it is reported in the Feb. 3 N. Y. Herald-Tribune column of Joseph and Stewart Alsop, Washington has made a secret decision "to aid the French in Indo-China . . , by sending them 400 mechanics and maintenance experts from the American Air Force units in the Far East."

These new "tourists" are not likely to enhance U.S. popularity with the Indo-Chinese people who have been fighting eight years against the French imperialist invasion. But we are not likely, either, to hear this from those who complain most about our lack of popularity abroad.

The Sante Fe Case Smear

"Subversive" and "un-American" are shot-gun words designed to spread over a wide target. A lot of union bureaucrats have used these words against union militants, thus aping the language of the witch-hunters in attacking anyone opposed to their views. Now some very conservative unions and union leaders are being peppered with these same pellets.

In Amarillo, Texas, thirteen anti-union employes of the Sante Fe, Atchison and Topeka Railway have joined with the company in a suit to enjoin 16 AFL non-operating railway unions from attempting to establish a union shop. This is one of a number of suits brought by the railroad barons and their agents in an attempt to nullify a 1951 Federal law sanctioning the union shop in the railroad industry.

Col. E. A. Simpson, counsel for the Sante Fe railroad and its 13 stooges, recited in court some constitutional regulations of the unions that he contended infringed on the rights of his clients. He called these regulations "wholly un-American and subversive."

These internal regulations of the unions involved in the suit have nothing to do with promotion of radical political ideas, socialism and communism, or anything with a remote resemblance thereto. Some of the rules have been in operation a half century and more, and had escaped being called "un-American and subversive" until the Sante Fe railroad chose to fight in the courts against union security contracts.

What is important is that the terms "subversive" and "un-American" — standard interchangeable smear words of the McCarthyites for "spies," "traitors," "eggheads," "communists," etc., — are being applied to old-time union practices of union officials so conservative they make some hard-shell capitalists sound radical. But they have crossed the interests of some corporations — and that's enough to make them and their union procedures of long standing "wholly un-American and subversive."

Eisenhower Farm Policy: "New Look" or Old Junk?

By R. Gale

Eisenhower's long-awaited farm program, just presented to Congress, was advertised as a 'new look' for agriculture, a solution for all the basic problems facing the American farmer. But farmers, farm economists, and students of farming found nothing new in it outside of the packaging of a few changed words.

The Militant has long held the position that the problems of American agriculture will not, and cannot be solved under capitalism. Roosevelt tried with a program of scarcity. Now Eisenhower proposes to let the farmers take care of themselves, with the government giving them financial aid only when they cannot sell their produce at a sufficiently high profit.

During the 20's when the rest of the economy was booming, American agriculture was already in a state of crisis. The Farm Board had been established to make loans to buy up surplus produce in the basic crops such as wheat, corn, cotton and tobacco.

By 1930 the warehouses were full, prices were at lows not seen since the aftermath of the Civil War, and were still going down. By the time the depression hit industry, the farmers were on the verge of bankruptcy.

One of the first acts of the Roosevelt pump-priming administration was aid for the farmer. Benefits were paid for destruction of crops; fields were plowed under; baby pigs killed; while millions went hungry. A combination of the now famous droughts of the early 30's and this program of scarcity brought about a balance of production and consumption.

When the courts oulawed the AAA in response to the view of the big agriculturalists that regulation is repugnant to the American tradition of free enterprise, the Roosevelt Administration was ready with a new program. The essential feature, the Commodity Credit Corporation, was authorized to make loans to farmers on surplus crops according to a sliding scale between 52% and 75% of parity. (The CCC is a government corporation set up under Roosevelt with government capitalization, its sole business is to buy up surplus crops.) The outbreak of the second world war saved the CCC from bankruptcy.

FORMULA CONTINUED

Eisenhower's flexible price-support formula is the same thing except that higher percentages of parity are to be paid. Ninety percent in years when the crop is small, with decreasing amounts for years when the crops are in excess of domestic demand. A floor is set under which prices cannot drop.

During the last war prices were set at 90% of parity and have been maintained at that figure since then. Any cut from this high rigid support will not appeal to the farmer.

Roosevelt had a stated "parity formula." (Parity is defined at present as the relation between farm income per person and non-farm income per person in the period August 1909 to July 1914. The object is to maintain that relation.) Eisenhower does not spell out just what he means by his "modern parity formula." Quite likely it is the formula contained in the Farm Act of 1948 passed by a Republican Congress. This Act set parity lower for the so-called basic crops, wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco, rice, and peanuts. It also raised the parity price for the non-basic crops. The initial effect is to discourage production of crops chronically in excess of domestic demand, but in the long run will not change the pattern of production.

Even during the past 15 years which were almost exclusively war years, agriculture has solved none of its basic problems. The government, by its price support and buying operations, has now piled up in its warehouses so much farm produce that it costs $14 million a month in storage charges alone. Eisenhower hopes that by cutting down the purchase of farm surpluses and cash outlay for price support, yet keeping farm prices high enough to save the farmers from bankruptcy, he will be able to point to the huge sums of money he has saved the taxpayer.

All this is based on the false concept that the farm economy is one of small working, or "dirt" farmers. This was true of the past, but times have changed. In 1939 there were nearly three million farms that produced less than $1,000 worth of produce, the average being around $600. Obviously, these farmers were not making a decent living. On the other hand, 312,939 farms with produce value in excess of $4,000 produced more than twice as much as the three million farms.

DOMINANT SECTION

To show still further the process of commercialization and centralization going on in the farm economy, 58,313 of the 312,939 farms cited, or almost 19% had half the produce value. This clearly shows that the large-scale commercial farms, or "factories in the fields" are the dominant section of American agriculture.

The farmers have enjoyed high price support for a number of years now and with the present set-up the large corporation farms are in a position to control any policy advanced by the government. When crops are short and demand is high they can produce more because they have access to machinery and information that is not available to the small farmer.

Our conclusion must be that the President's program for agriculture is not a program at all but a political measure designed to take some of the heat off the Republican Administration because of the growing pile of produce held in storage. An attempt is being made to keep the main features of the price-support program with only minor changes. However, there is no proposal or plan to dispose of the huge amounts still in storage. Nor is there anything in the proposals that will prevent future surpluses from piling up. In short, nothing is changed

CONSUMER IGNORED

The interests of the consumer are ignored, as in the past. Nothing in the present plan or the one projected will in any way lower the price of agricultural produce to the consumer. And at the same time, his taxes will go in part to maintain in storage the commodities bought by the government. He will still pay for holding food and other products off the market that he could use if the price were down to where he could buy it.

The basic problem has not been touched at all. High production costs and lack of a world market to take care of surpluses still plague the farmer, and there is no relief in sight.

The only way the problem could be solved is by nationalization of agriculture and comprehensive planning. This is impossible for either the Democrats or the Republicans. Only a Workers and Farmers Government is capable of facing the problem clearly and finding the solution for the American farmer.

DOES BERLIN CONFERENCE SIGNAL AN "ARMISTICE"?

By Joseph Hansen

The capitalist press is quite unanimous in predicting that no sensational "peace pact" will come out of the Berlin conference of the representatives of the U.S., Britain, France and the Soviet Union. It is just as unanimous in reporting that the conference indicates a lessening of world tension and the postponement of World War III. How are we to explain this seeming paradox?

Both sides appear to be maintaining a hard attitude at the conference with no concessions in sight. So far as the speeches and press handouts are concerned, Dulles and his team mates are not yielding an inch to the "menace" of commmunism. On the other side Molotov makes out that Moscow is giving nothing away.

This public front is designed primarily for consumption at home. Everything Dulles says is calculated above all to give no handles to the McCarthyites. Molotov keeps in mind the forces throughout the world that see the U.S. as the main instigator of war and that tend to turn to the Soviet Union as the chief hope for achieving peace.

To find out what is really happening it is necessary to turn away from the Berlin show window and take a close look at the policies actually being followed by Moscow and Washington.

KREMLIN WANTS DEAL

So far as the Malenkov regime is concerned, there can be no doubt that it is genuinely eager for a deal, a long-time deal if possible, and that it is willing to pay a rather high price. Isvestia, for example, recently reiterated the Moscow position: "We always remember that our bourgeois opposite number, whether in commercial, economic, or political deals, will not agree unless he receives his 'legitimate profit.'

"And in certain cases we are even ready to agree to give an 'inflated profit,' but on condition that we also secure the appropriate gain."

What Malenkov has to offer to his "bourgeois opposite number" is principally political services at the expense of the working class. For example, both Italy and France are once again so close to revolution that the leadership of the working class can play a decisive role in either bringing it on or in selling it out. That leadership happens, unfortunately, to still be in the hands of agents of the Kremlin.

Resistance to concluding a long-term understanding with Moscow lies on the side of Washington. In fact the Truman administration deliberately prepared for war on the Soviet bloc and the Eisenhower administration has continued that course. **War remains the long-term objective of Wall Street's political representatives.**

But that does not preclude a short-term understanding, whether openly and formally written down or not. The fact is that for the past year Eisenhower has actually been moving in this direction and has gone so far in taking off the heat that such a conservative commentator as Walter Lippmann, who originated the term "cold war," now declares an "armistice" has been reached.

In his column of Jan. 12, Lippmann says that "a recognized balance of power exists, and that while it is maintained, a great war is not probable." He contrasts this with 1950 "when we thought of Korea as the opening campaign of the third world war. . ." In his column of Jan. 18 he speaks of "acceptance for the time being of the status quo."

Lippmann is not alone in this opinion. C. L. Sulzberger, one of leading commentators of the influential N. Y. Times rules out a long-range settlement but ascribes to the Kermlin a desire for a "pause in the battles of the 'cold war,'" which is his way of referring to Eisenhower's shift on the diplomatic front.

The Wall Street Journal in a long lead editorial Feb. 1 declares that a "profound change has occurred." The Eisenhower administration has concluded that "while the threat of Soviet-launched world war is a continuing one it is not imminent. There is no ascertainable crisis year."

David Lawrence, who has been grinding the axe for the fascist Senator McCarthy, goes so far as to accuse Eisenhower of "appeasing Communist Russia," of making "valuable concessions," and even of committing a "new surrender to the Communists on the eve of the four-power conference."

EASE THE PRESSURE

The fact is that Eisenhower has made a series of retrenchments, most spectacular being the armistice in Korea. Recently the State Department has been planting stories in the press about the desirability of trade with the Soviet bloc and is said to have approved a lifting of certain trade barriers with China and the USSR previously observed by Britain and France.

The Soviet bid to buy American butter was considered by Eisenhower's cabinet and the current refusal is reported to be only temporary. Even Benson, the rock-ribbed Republican Secretary of Agriculture, favored selling Government-stored butter to the USSR before it spoils. The offer was turned down for the time being only because of possible smear attacks by the McCarthyites. Butter would grease the way for other American products.

It thus appears to be fairly well accepted now that the Eisenhower regime has made a definite turn in American diplomacy, a turn that was predicted more than a year ago by the Militant.

The reasons for the shift and the ramifications of a new interlude of "peace" in the general headlong rush toward another war will be considered in a subsequent article.

LOS ANGELES
Anti-McCarthy Rally
Hear:
James P. Cannon
National Chairman Socialist Workers Party
Thomas L. Kerry
Chairman, Los Angeles Local, Socialist Workers Party
Friday, Feb. 12, 8:00 P.M.
Embassy Auditorium
(9th and Grand)
Admission 50 cents

The Golden Brown Brew

The "good golden brown brew" is becoming "golden" in more than color as coffee prices of $1.20 a pound are predicted. Rep. Leonore Sullivan (D., Mo.) is shown holding a cup of the precious stuff and saying something ought to be done about it. Coffee sales are reported falling rapidly.

World Events

By Paul Abbott

THE FANFANI CABINET proved even less long-lived than had been universally expected. It fell Jan. 30 after only 11 days in office. "The result plunged Italy deeper into its worst political crisis since World War II," reports Frank Kelley, correspondent of the N. Y. Herald Tribune. The feebleness of Italy's capitalist government is a reflection of deepening unrest and another shift to the left among the Italian workers. The well-known columnist Roscoe Drummond declared Jan. 11 that "The trend is definitely and steadily toward Communism." Henry J. Taylor, commentator of the ABC network, predicted in the Jan. 24. This Week Magazine that "Italy is going Communist!" According to him, "the sweep is on, the end is positive and clear. Our Italian brothers and friends are lost as a Western ally." The reaction of the Eisenhower administration to this trend, which was reported by Ambassador Clare Boothe Luce, was to dangle new arms orders of an estimated 10 to 20 million dollars if the Italian government would at once sign the European Defense Community Treaty. Such barefaced bribery, however, seems to have had no effect in stemming the sentiments of the Italian working class.

It appears that once again Wall Street and the Italian capitalist class will have to depend on the good offices of the Stalinists to rescue them from a socialist overturn through another betrayal such as the leaders of the Italian Communist Party have carried out repeatedly since the end of World War II.

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STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS for the return of British-held Gibraltar, inspired by the Franco regime of fascist Spain, boomeranged against the dictatorship last week when 15,000 Madrid students began stoning British cars and the British compound Jan. 25 in an outburst of frenzy that far exceeded what the fascists had expected. Police fired revolvers and charged with night sticks, trying to break up the mushrooming demonstration. The students turned on the police, utilizing fists and rocks. Next day some 10,000 marched on a radio station and a contingent of 100 seized it. They tried to broadcast their protests against Franco's police but technicians cut off the power. On Jan. 27 demonstrating students roamed through the city's central markets. A free-for-all with police resulted when they turned over a vegetable stand. At the university, students blockaded themselves when the police tried to enter.

The swiftness with which the students turned against the government although they were thought to be under the tight control of the fascist youth organization is an indication of the degree of popular unrest in Spain.

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THE SPANISH ROMAN CATHOLIC MAGAZINE, Ecclesia, in its current issue deplores the fact that "an overwhelming majority" of Spanish workers are not practising Catholics. It blames the drift away from the influence of the Franco-loving Catholic hierarchy on the "Marxist virus." It admits that the "whole working class agrees that present wages are insufficient and estimates that they should be increased 40 to 75 percent."

The magazine says that recent state-decreed wage increases in wages and benefits amounting to 25 to 35 percent are welcomed but reports that "quite a few workers" attribute these meager concessions to "the need for avoiding the advance and penetration of communism."

* * *

AN ORDER BY THE FRENCH ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY that worker-priests must abandon their close association with workers has been protested by 73 of the affected 100 worker-priests. The Bishops decided recently that the worker-priests, who want to carry out missionary work on the job, could make no such "temporal commitments" as taking out membership in trade unions. The worker-priests signed a joint letter that said in part, "At a time when millions of workers in France and abroad are on the march toward unity in order to defend their bread, their liberties and peace, the employers and the Government increase their exploitation and their repression to check at all costs the progress of the working class, and, to safeguard their privileges, the religious authorities impose on the worker-priests conditions that constitute an abandonment of their worker's life and a denial of the struggle that they lead together with all their comrades."

The letter, published in Paris Feb. 3, said that Bishops has been influenced in their decision by "circles accustomed to placing religion at the service of their own interests and of their class prejudices." **It said that one of the reasons for the hostility of workers toward the church is the suspicion that the church is allied with the capitalist class.**

* * *

NEHRU, Prime Minister of India, is frequently depicted in the press as "pro-Communist" because of his resistance to being pushed around by Wall Street interests. However, this picture of the leading political representative of the Indian capitalists is not exactly accurate. In a recently published book, Chester Bowles, Ambassador to India, reports that Nehru has jailed more than 8,000 victims on charges of being "Communist agitators" and has used the armed forces a number of times to smash alleged "red strongholds," killing hundreds. Bowles cites this use of force and violence against freedom of thought in India as evidence that Nehru is not nearly so anti-capitalist as he is often made out to be in the American press.

A 14% drop in passengers has been explained by the general manager of the Detroit transit system as being due in major part to plant shutdowns.

NEW YORK
Negro History Week
Lessons for the Fight Against Jim Crow Today
Speaker:
George Breitman
Friday, Feb. 12, 8 P.M.
Militant Hall
116 University Place
(near Union Square)
Questions, Discussion, Refreshments
Contribution 25 Cents

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVIII — MONDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1954 — NUMBER 6

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Another Promise

Another election year, another promise. . .

No more Jim Crow schools on any military posts after September 1, 1955, Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson has ordered, according to a Jan. 31 United Press report. No new segregated schools may be opened from now on, and the 21 bases now maintaining separate schools must eliminate them by the 1955 deadline.

If the local school agencies — which operate the Jim Crow schools with federal funds — "will not, or because of state laws cannot, run nonsegregated schools on the bases," UP reports, "the United States Office of Education has agreed to operate the schools."

Wilson's order, we are assured, has the "personal backing of President Eisenhower." That's not much of a guarantee of anything after the experience of the past year with the Administration's promises.

In keeping with the campaign to make "Ike" look good despite his express statements, his overt acts, and his failure to make good on promises to labor and minority groups, the story is spread, through "reliable sources," that his heart is in the right place but his subordinates (whom he appointed) sabotage his policies.

In this particular case, for example, it is claimed that Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, is the real villain. She is the one who reportedly "opposed swift action to wipe out remaining segregation in post schools for servicemen's children."

But Eisenhower, on his white horse, came to the rescue, overruled her, and instructed Defense Secretary Wilson to go ahead and kill the Jim Crow dragon.

Reminder: "Mr. Eisenhower said last year there was no legal, logical or moral justification for discrimination in use of Federal funds. He announced at the time that **segregation in post schools run by the Federal government would be ended by the fall of 1953"!** (UP report. Our emphasis.)

It is now February 1954 and 21 military posts, by the Administration's own admission, still maintain Jim Crow schools. The President's promise of last year obviously is not worth two cents. This year's promise is worth just about as much — except to tin-horn politicians who will try to peddle it for good coin in the vote-getting campaign this fall.

What to do about it? Stop being a sucker! Quit the capitalist parties. Organize an independent party based on labor, with a program for wiping out inequality of opportunity for everyone. Vote for what you want, not for one of two evils!

MGM's "Julius Caesar"

By Lynn Marcus

It was said of King Midas that anything he touched turned to gold. The rulers of Hollywood have a touch with the opposite effect.

In the current MGM film version of "Julius Caesar," Shakespeare's final act is junked in favor of a Hollywood horse-opera finish. The key assassination scene limps along under the twin burdens of idiotic stage direction and a competent but badly miscast Louis Calhern as Caesar. The essential role of Octavius Caesar is cut to a bit part. In fact, the film would not be worth seeing but for James Mason as Brutus and John Gielgud as Cassius, some of the finest acting this writer has witnessed. In their key roles, these two manage to preserve much of the sense of the play as written.

It would seem reasonable that a producer, before putting on a drama, should arrive at an understanding of a play's content and be somehow governed accordingly. Not MGM. To the producers, Marc Antony turns out as the hero. To accomplish this, it was only necessary to cut out most of those lines Shakespeare wrote to indicate that Marc Antony was the villain of the piece — not an innocent, loyal upholder of law and order, but a wily, debauched and unprincipled soldier of fortune, to whom loot and power were life's important issues.

As James Mason puts across very well, it is Brutus, whose idealistic and moralizing misconceptions of the struggle against tyranny lead him to defeat, that is Shakespeare's hero. With that plot, "Julius Caesar" is powerful drama.

The amazing power of Shakespeare's plays is not adequately explained by his clever, absorbing plots. Great art does not spring from individual genius alone, but from men and women inspired by the great social movements of their age.

Beethoven, Goethe, Shelley were the offshoots of the French Revolutionary upsurge; Whitman sprang from America's great social struggles prior to the Civil War; Milton was the poet of the first capitalist revolution; Shakespeare, Marlowe and Jonson were products of the social upsurges of their time.

The poet Shelley explains this with amazing clarity: ". . . we live among such philosophers and poets as surpass beyond comparison any who have appeared since the last national struggle for civil religious liberty. . . The most unfailing herald, companion and follower of the awakening of a great people to work a beneficial change in opinion or institution is poetry. At such periods there is an accumulation of the power of communicating and receiving intense and impassioned conceptions respecting man and nature. . . It is impossible to read the compositions of the most celebrated writers of the present day without being startled at the electric life which burns within their words. They measure the circumference and sound the depths of human nature with a comprehensive and all-penetrating spirit, and they are themselves perhaps the most sincerely astonished at its manifestations; for it is less their spirit than the spirit of the age. . ."

As this applies to the artistic geniuses who spoke in behalf of the French Revolution, it applies equally in explaining the genius of the Shakespearean Age and the social basis of Shakespeare's own awe-inspiring tragic genius.

The rise of socialism in America will, by these same laws, sweep the cobwebs from the thinking of a whole new generation of great artists in all fields, who will far surpass the Shelleys, Beethovens, and even Shakespeare's who have gone before. For this new art, the rising American socialist movement will create an inspired audience who will defend the great art of all times from the degenerate hand of the Hollywood tradition.

Notes from the News

SWORD BUSINESS PICKS UP. The Navy says it is requiring the dress sword to "restore certain prestige" to officers. The social significance of the return of the sword is noted by one Carl Shipley, a Young Republican leader: "The common man was a hell of a failure. He didn't cure the world's ills. He made things worse than they were. All this erasing of class and social differences, things like the FEPC — they just didn't work. Apparently they just caused more trouble. People aren't going to get the same kind of liberal approach any more. The laxity and tolerance of the era of the common man is in for a reversal. It's happening now. I see that swords are coming back in the Navy, for instance. All these things are signs of social and political distinction."

* * *

"THEY'VE MADE IT PLAIN they don't want me — or any other Negro — to live in the Deauville Gardens (Long Island) community," said Clarence Wilson, a Brooklyn business man, forced to sell his $16,000 home at a loss after it was set fire to twice while in construction, and after a mortgage and insurance on it was suddenly cancelled. "I still believe I have a right to live where I please," Wilson said, "But I have two small children. I don't want my sons to take the chance of being harmed if I move in." Said the local police chief, "I don't know of any discrimination against colored people. After all we have colored policemen on the force."

* * *

CLEVELAND LAYOFFS BOOST GARNISHMENTS. Actions to garnishee the wages of instalment buyers unable to meet payments "are flooding the courts" of Cleveland, according to the municipal court's chief deputy clerk. She attributes the 25% hike in garnishments during 1953 to increasing unemployment. (Cleveland Plain Dealer. Jan. 25.)

* * *

NEW YORK CITY JOBLESS CLAIMS are 42.3% higher than the first half of Jan. 1953. The State Labor Dept. has revealed that there were 203,500 persons receiving unemployment insurance in mid-January of this year as compared with 143,000 a year ago. The greatest number of currently unemployed are in the wearing apparel industry — some 72,298, a 27% increase over the same period last year.

* * *

AUTOMATION OF INDUSTRY is being spurred by the developing "recession." The Cross Co. of Detroit, a major producer of large scale automatic tools, anticipates a 35% increase in its output this year, according to the Feb. 1 Wall St. Journal. Cross is now building a $2-million machine tool, as long as a football field, operated by one man, that will turn out engine blocks at a pace which formerly required 35 to 75 men. "Employers emphatically deny that unemployment will result," says the Wall St. Journal. But the same article quotes a vice president of a company going in for automation as saying: "We hope to be able to eliminate time-and-a-half overtime pay for Saturday and double time for Sunday that we're now saddled with."

* * *

FREE THINKERS SUBVERSIVE? Five months after the request was made, a Federal Judge in Hawaii, has reluctantly agreed to transfer a petition for naturalization made by Wladyslaw Plywacki to the state of Oregon, where he now lives. More than a year ago the judge rejected the petition when Plywacki, an atheist, chose to affirm his allegiance to the U.S. rather than swearing it on the Bible. Although his decision was reversed on appeal, the judge accompanied the transfer order with the "opinion" that had been reversed. The bigoted judge said in part: ". . . the atheist philosophy . . . demonstrates a lack of attachment to the United States Government's first principle: a belief in a Creator, from whom the Founders proclaimed comes man's inalienable rights subsequently guaranteed by the constitution."

N.Y. Building Trades Face Strikes Curb

NEW YORK — Building trades workers here face the threat of compulsory arbitration that would virtually crush their right to strike. Preliminary meetings of building trades union and employer groups are exploring the possibilities for a broader compulsory arbitration agreement. Labor officials and bosses report they are in agreement in principle but have not yet arrived at a contractual formula for banning all strikes.

Union officials and contractors are using the pretext of the recent AFL truckdrivers strike, which tied up building materials for a number of weeks, to justify a ban on the right to strike. They claim that the building and construction industry must protect itself against strikes in which "a handful of workers throw a hundred and fifty thousand construction workers out of work." Compulsory arbitration is their answer to prevent such situations in the future.

URGED STRIKEBREAKING

Union officials state that a subcommittee of the New York City Building Trades Council went to Washington and got Dave Beck, czar of the teamsters union, to break the strike of the construction materials drivers. Some of these officials have been sounding off on this theme with great passion in their unions.

This response to the recent strike of truck drivers illustrates how some union officials approach the problems of union workers who are fighting to keep up with the rising cost of living and improve their living standards. Instead of proposing ways and means to back up striking workers, they are demanding a compulsory arbitration set-up that would provide for a committee of union bureaucrats and employers combined to dispose of the demands of any of the unions involved in the industry.

THREAT TO STANDARDS

The struggle to organize the maintenance jobs and to unionize building alteration jobs often meets with scabbing and back-to-work actions by other crafts on the same job. Sub-standard work done in low wage areas has more and more replaced work done on the job by this city's union craftsmen.

Compulsory arbitration, as alert unionists realize, would open the door wider than ever for the importation of sub-standard assemblies and would undermine the job conditions and living standards of the New York building trades workers.

FEAR CUTBACKS

Growing unemployment in the factories warn of retrenchment and cutbacks in building alterations and new construction that will result in reduced building trades employment. Building trades workers will have to fight on the picket lines to maintain jobs with union standards and union-standard materials to work with.

A compulsory arbitration agreement would be a major obstacle to the necessary fight by the organized building trades workers to protect their living standards.

Congress Seeks Pay Hike

Eisenhower receives from his commission on salaries a report saying Congressmen should vote themselves a 100% salary raise to $27,500 a year. At left, commission chairman Bernard G. Segal; at right, commission member James P. Walsh. A coast-to-coast Gallup poll reveals the people three-to-one against such a salary boost.

MEXICO PROTESTS BAD U.S. DEAL FOR MIGRANTS

By R. Gale

JAN. 26 — Violence flared last Saturday in the border town of Mexicali, Mexico, just across from Calixico, Calif., as the result of the breakdown of negotiations between Mexico and the U.S. on the question of migratory Mexican farm laborers.

Mexico had demanded that all Mexican farm laborers imported into the U.S. be guaranteed minimum wages and minimum housing and health standards. The U.S. State Dept., bowing to the big landowners, insisted that pay and other conditions be governed by "existing wage scales and conditions of life in the particular areas where the contract laborer works." The Mexican government rejected these conditions and acted to prevent its nationals from crossing the border to work like virtual slaves.

When negotiations broke down, U.S. authorities set up a unilateral program of contracting. Any Mexicans who could get across the border at the regular inspection stations and pass certain minimum health standards were to be signed up by the U.S. government. They would be farmed out to the growers and get "the prevailing rate of wages in the locality." **This rate, of course, would be far lower than that paid regular workers and is the main reason for the importation of Mexican laborers.**

The incidents of violence occurred when the U.S. border patrol returned 50 illegal entrants to the Mexican side at little Mexicali, which is reported jammed with at least 8,000 workers seeking entry into the U.S. When the 50 returned workers tried to step the 18 inches inside the Mexican border, as required by law before reapplying for "regular admission" to the U.S. side, the Mexican authorities intervened to prevent them from going back into U.S. territory.

On Friday, Jan. 22, some 625 workers were processed to work in U.S. fields at the complete mercy of the growers. The figure dropped to 125 on Saturday and to only 39 on Sunday as more guards and heavier patrols watched the Mexican side of the border.

A Mexican government spokesman said: "The favorable response of the Mexican people has not been equaled since the expropriation of the oil companies in 1938. We could do nothing else than refuse to sign an agreement which gave no adequate protection to Mexican migratory workers."

American union officials condemned the State Dept.'s action in setting up recruiting stations to lure Mexican workers as "legalizing the illegal.". When Attorney General Brownell recently visted the southwest, he called the "wetback problem" extremely serious. ("Wetbacks" is a derogatory label for Mexican farm workers who cross the Rio Grande border illegally.) Apparently Brownell is solving this problem by the simple device of "legalizing" what was illegal before.

PITTSBURGH DEMOCRATS PASS "SOAK-THE-POOR" WAGE TAX

By Marianne Moore

PITTSBURGH, Jan. 26 — Disregarding labor protests, the all-Democrat City Council here yesterday voted to impose a one percent wage tax on all those working in this city in order to balance the municipal budget.

Mayor Lawrence, chief advocate of this outrageous "soak-the-poor" tax, was recently re-elected to office for the third time, chiefly through organized labor's support. A main campaign slogan of these Democrat "friends of labor" was: "A vote for the Democrats is a vote against the wage tax proposed by the Republicans."

Bitterly denouncing the Democratic double-cross, AFL and CIO leaders at the public hearing in the Council chambers sharply attacked this move to make those pay who can least afford it. Several of the union representatives even hinted that labor would not vote again for a party which betrays its labor supporters.

Breaking the otherwise solid labor front, the AFL Building Trades Council leaders came out for the wage tax. They shortsightedly favored the tax on the workers **because they fear the alternative of a real-estate tax might have an adverse effect on construction employment.**

WHERE TO GET TAXES

However, the deficit in the city budget can be made up by raising taxes on the under-assessed modern skyscrapers built in the downtown "Golden Triangle." According to reports submitted by Comptroller James W. Knox, as quoted recently in the Pittsburgh Press, "Some downtown properties now owned by the taxpayers and rented to individuals and business firms should be bringing twice as much as they are."

Some new political thinking is going on in labor's ranks as shown by a recent letter to the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette saying: "If labor had its own party it would have. . . had an alternative program ready at once, and on issues of the wage tax labor could win the majority of the vote too."

Detroit Jobless Near Total of 14 Years Ago

DETROIT, Jan. 26 — Unemployment in this area has reached its highest point in 14 years, even according to conservative official figures. A reversal of the growing unemployment trend "is just not in the forseeable future," admitted Max Horton, Michigan Employment Security Commission Director. State-wide unemployment is put at 167,000.

The great concern in labor circles over the unemployment situation was reflected in a special conference, co-sponsored by the Michigan CIO Council and the CIO United Automobile Workers, held in Lansing on Jan. 22. It drew 1,000 delegates.

This "full employment" conference, held as a preliminary to the third annual state CIO legislative conference, went on record for improvements in the subsistence unemployment compensation allowances, which now provide up to $27 a week, plus $2 for each dependent up to four, or a maximum of $35. Average benefits in the Detroit area in December ran some $40 a month less than direct relief payments to indigents.

TALK OF MASS ACTION

The legislative conference heard the first talk of militant action from state CIO leaders in a long time. State CIO Council President August Scholle, assailing the inadequacy of unemployment and workmen's compensation, said:

"We should organize delegations of the unemployed and the maimed and disabled and take them to the state capitol and let the Republicans see first hand the results of their refusal to provide adequate benefits. Maybe that's what's needed to thaw out Republican hearts."

Unfortunately, the conference leaders tried to use the gathering to whip up sentiment in favor of the Democrats, who share responsibility for the low welfare standards in this state. Thus, the official report to the conference carried not a word of criticism of the Democrats, claiming: "The Democrats vote more often in the interest of the people than do the Republicans."

No positive action now was adopted by the two conferences. The delegates were told to point toward next November's elections, when they would have a chance to elect some Democratic phonies in place of the Republican phonies.

NO TIME TO BE LOST

That there is no time to be lost in mobilizing organized labor here and in the state for real action soon, is shown by the official figure of 107,000 jobless in this city as of Jan. 15. The MESC estimated the number will grow another 10,000 by Feb. 15, but recently reported layoffs already bring the total to more than 117,000 unemployed in the Detroit area.

Unemployment here on Jan. 15 stood at 7.4% of the total labor force, which includes self-employed as well as wage and salaried workers. Six percent is considered by the Labor Dept. to warrant a "distressed" area label.

WORST SINCE 1940

A more accurate picture of the rate of employment decline is given by comparative figures on the number of jobs in this area's auto plants. As of Jan. 15 there were only 337,000 jobs in the industry compared to 421,000 last May. This is a drop of 84,000 jobs in a single industry in a single area within eight months. And this trend is to continue into the "forseeable future."

Things are worse here than they have been since the pre-war year of 1940. In March of that year, there were 144,000 jobless. Only 27,000 to go and this city will be back in the "good old days."

A Program for Rebellious Youth

By H. Baker

The Washingon State legislature's televised hearings on the recent protest riot at the Monroe Reformatory resulted in no proposals to solve the problems of youth either locally and immediately or long-range. Appalling conditions within the Reformatory were almost completely ignored.

A start will be made in solving the problems of these young people caught in the barbaric punitive system of our present society when committees of parents, teachers and unionists interest themselves in these young men and women in reform schools and in the conditions under which they are supposed to be rehabilitated.

Such committees should include representatives of the socially most oppressed, the racial minorities like the Negro, Mexicans, Indians and Puerto Ricans. Youth themselves — including prisoners and ex-prisoners — should be represented.

TASK OF THE UNIONS

These committees should learn first hand the problems of reformatory youth, visit them, talk with them. Only from these youth directly will they learn the true conditions in the institutions. Sadistic guards, relishing brutality, will hide the facts. Corrupt guards, selling narcotics and exploiting other means for gain, will not tell the truth.

It would be well for the unions in particular to concern themselves with the conditions of reformatory youth, their general education, medical care, vocational training, etc. Union control of the vocation training programs could ensure the provision of journeymen to train youth in the trades and facilities for them to enter industry under union protection.

The rebellion of these youth against present social conditions takes individualistic and often reactionary forms. They are filled with cynicism because they feel so isolated and separated from society. **It is the job of the union representatives to show these youth how their problem is linked to that of the entire working class and to attract them to the labor movement as the vehicle for reaching a solution of their group's problem.**

The union movement can find one new source of strength, daring and ingenuity in these young people. The inmates at Monroe demonstrated their courage under tremendous pressure and their ability to stand together and fight against injustice, racial discrimination and oppression. Their tactics and methods of struggle were very like those employed by unions. The police and guards fought the youth in the same brutal manner used in combatting unions. Unions must help these youth by entering these prison conflicts, help in bargaining, demand reforms, protect the youth leaders, etc.

BEFORE THEY'RE SENT UP

But organized labor should intervene before accused youth are sent to prison. Police, judges and prosecuting attorneys are most often calloused and hardened time-servers, eager to clear their desks of work. The simplest way is to send youngsters to prison, without bothering to study the question of injustice to the individual. It is customary to get the accused out of sight and forget them.

Unions should provide legal aid to help these young people when they are involved with the very often brutal and corrupt law-enforcement agencies. It is easy to railroad young people to prison when their parents have neither time, money nor knowledge to protect their sons and daughters. Rich youth are able to hire good attorneys and get all the breaks required to help them escape the consequences of many acts held to be illegal.

THE BROADER PROBLEM

Reformatories and prisons, of course, are in themselves part of the evils of capitalist class society. Youth that feels itself insecure, unprotected and unloved under conditions of poverty, lack of parental guidance and attention, and the circumstances of the poor generally, will not find security, protection and love behind the bars.

The problems of today's young people are a reflection of the problems of society as a whole. Low wages and poor working conditions reflect themselves in the home. Harassed, over-worked, frustrated parents, who often take out their resentments against society on their children, do not make loving guardians of the young.

To deal adequately with the problems of youth, the unions must deal with the broader social problems, such as the conditions of women workers who are forced to take jobs and care for their children at the same time.

SOCIALIST SOLUTION

A lasting solution will come only under socialism, where every child will feel wanted and will be provided good food and clothing, decent homes, medical care, wholesome recreation, well-trained teachers. Every child will be made to feel that society as a whole is concerned with his well-being. Those with physical, mental or personality difficulties will receive early and sympathetic treatment and care.

In a socialist society where war, unemployment, race and sex discrimination, poverty and insecurity will be no more, youth will be free to develop and to contribute fully its vigor, idealism, courage and intelligence to the continuing advancement of all mankind.

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